

The waqf-endowment strategy of a Mamluk military man: the contexts, motives, and purposes of the endowments of Qijmās al-Ishāqī (d. 1487)

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Abstract

This study analyses the original waqf documents belonging to Qijmās al-Ishāqī, an amir who lived in late Mamluk Egypt and Syria, from three perspectives: first, the types of assets possessed or endowed by Qijmās and the creation of these assets; second, the contexts and purposes of establishing waqfs by comparing the data obtained from the documents and the life history of Qijmās, which was reconstructed from literary sources; and third, how his personal relationships reflected the character of his waqfs. Further, this study reveals how he selectively and strategically used the waqf system for personal and/or public benefit at different stages of his life and according to the prevalent social circumstances. This case study proves that the waqf system had multi-dimensional and complex functions: in addition to realizing its universal purpose of enabling the performance of charitable deeds, the waqf system fulfilled the founder's particularistic secular intentions and expectations.

Keywords: Waqf, Mamluk sultanate, Egypt and Syria, Islamic philanthropy, Life history

Introduction

Waqf is an Islamic religious endowment established through stopping (*waqafa*) the transfer of the ownership of property and dedicating the income from the property to charitable purposes designated by the founder (*wāqif*), such as religious institutions and social services. It has been established that the waqf system was a crucial socio-economic mechanism that deeply influenced social life in pre-modern Islamic societies, including religious, educational, and commercial activities as well as those that promoted urban development and stimulated cultural achievement. Islamic law encouraged Muslims to establish waqfs by defining the waqf as a virtuous legal instrument that brought *qurba*, nearness to God (i.e. an act pleasing to God) for which the founder would be rewarded in the afterlife. The purpose of a waqf was usually described in original deeds that were prepared when the waqfs were established, whether it was for the welfare of Muslims or for the salvation of the founder in the afterlife.

However, the spread and popularity of the waqf system throughout pre-modern Islamic societies cannot be attributed simply to its status as a “charitable act” supported by altruism and benevolence. Rather, people established waqfs for more practical and self-interested reasons. First, secular and personal motives

lay behind the establishment of waqfs. Through endowing private property as a waqf, the founder expected that the property would be exempted from taxation and protected against confiscation by the government. In addition, by assigning one's family as the waqf's beneficiary, the founder was able to leave his descendants the property en bloc, thus avoiding the division of property, which was one of the tenets of the Islamic law of inheritance. Furthermore, the founder was then able to assign a specific member of the family as the waqf's beneficiary for the purpose of securing his/her financial interest. By founding religious institutions and organizing charitable activities through the waqf system, the founder portrayed himself as a devout and benevolent person and enhanced his own reputation and prestige in society.

The second motive was political. Through the establishment of religious institutions such as madrasas and the endowment of waqf to support their activities, practices which became widespread in the period of the "Sunni revival" in and after the eleventh century, the Turkish military rulers, who were ethnically isolated from their Arab subjects, represented themselves as "guardians of Islam" for the purpose of establishing the legitimacy of their government and gaining the support of the ulama and people under their rule. They also founded these institutions in newly occupied cities for the purpose of displaying their power and prestige to their subjects. The large-scale waqf project of constructing waqf-financed religious/public institutions and commercial facilities to support their activities also served as a vehicle for urban development.

Third, religious motives, such as practising religious piety and accumulating meritorious acts for attaining salvation in the next world, cannot be ignored. In particular, waqf founders began to build their tombs next to their madrasas or khanqahs, or as independent mausoleums. This custom became widespread throughout the pre-modern Islamic world in the period under examination.¹

However, identifying outstanding examples of waqfs randomly from different time periods or geographical areas is not sufficient fully to examine the motives and purposes of establishing waqfs nor to demonstrate the multi-dimensional roles and functions the waqf system performed. Founders decide to endow a part of their property as a waqf and designate its revenue to specific institutions, activities, and/or people, giving careful consideration to the benefit to themselves, their family and offspring, and the society in the present, in the future, and after their death. Thus, the establishment of a waqf reflects the founders' view of life and death, which is constructed on the historical and social context as well as formed by their personal situation and therefore changes throughout their life course. A detailed case study is necessary to understand the workings of waqf in real life as experienced by actual people. Focusing on multiple waqfs, which were set up under specific circumstances by a single individual living in a

1 As for the various motives that lay behind the establishment of waqfs, see M.M. Amīn, *Al-Awqāf wa-l-Ḥayāt al-Ijtimā'iyya fī Miṣr 648–923 A.H./1250–1517 A.D.* (Cairo: Dār al-Nahḍa al-'Arabiyya, 1980), 70–98; A. Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence: An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem* (Suny Series in Near Eastern Studies, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 25–32; A. Singer, *Charity in Islamic Society* (Themes in Islamic History, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 100–10.

certain time period in a particular region, such a study examines what the circumstances and the individual's intentions were in setting up the waqf, what implications this had for wider society, in what ways it related to the person's life and activities, as well as how changes in the individual's circumstances influenced the way the waqf was administered, taking into account social conditions, the founder's social standing, and his or her personal background.

From this perspective, I am concerned with analysing the waqfs of Qijmās al-Ishāqī, an amir who lived in late Mamluk Egypt and Syria. Qijmās founded several religious and public utilities and rebuilt others with the endowment of large amounts of property as waqfs for the benefit of these utilities over the course of twenty years, from the time when he was still an unknown rank-and-file mamluk to when he occupied the post of viceroy of Damascus (*nā'ib al-saltāna bi-l-Shām*), one of the most influential military positions in the Mamluk government. Using his waqf-related documents as primary sources,² this article analyses the waqfs of Qijmās al-Ishāqī from three perspectives: looking, first, at the types of assets he possessed as milk (private property) and/or endowed as waqf and the process of creating these assets; second, at the contexts, main purposes, and probable motives of establishing each waqf by comparing the data gained from the documents with literary sources; and, third, at how his personal relationships, especially within the Mamluk class, reflected the character of his waqfs. In this way, I will present both Qijmās's strategic employment as well as the multifaceted and complex functions of the waqf system, while providing a glimpse of Qijmās's view of life and death.

1. The life history of Qijmās al-Ishāqī³

Qijmās was brought to Egypt as a slave during the reign of Sultan al-Zāhir Jaqmaq (r. 842–57 A.H./1438–53 C.E.), although the exact date of his arrival is unknown. After his purchase and emancipation, Jaqmaq added him to the Sultanic Mamluk corps (*al-mamālīk al-sultāniyya*). Mamluks who were purchased and emancipated by the reigning sultan himself were called *mushtarawāt* or *julbān* and held important positions in the military and political spheres forming a power base for the sultan. The *mushtarawāt* of Jaqmaq were known as al-Zāhiriyya, which was derived from the master's title, al-Zāhir. Little is known about Qijmās during Jaqmaq's reign, except for his attendance in a ḥajj pilgrimage caravan (probably as a guard) and an anecdote about his excellence in calligraphy (*khatt*). To all appearances he started a new, happy life in Egypt as a member of the military elite; but, in fact, he lived through a series of political and social troubles. The plagues struck Egypt three times during the reign of

2 Waqf deeds (*hujaj*), Cairo, Wizārat al-Awqāf (WA), jadīd (j) 670–74, 677, 679, 682–7, 689–93, 695, 735; Dayr Sānt Katrīn (SK), 272. For the documents, see Appendix, supplementary material online.

3 For his biography, see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Quds, 1934–37), 6: 213–4; 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ḥanafī, *Nayl al-Amal fi Dhayl al-Duwal* (Sidon and Beirut: al-Maktaba al-'Aṣriyya, 2002), 8: 80.

Jaqmaq and claimed the lives of large numbers of people.⁴ In addition, a substantial rise in prices and a calamitous famine afflicted Egypt during the period from 853/1449 to 857/1453, and the populace was decimated by hunger.⁵ Under such circumstances, the payment of monthly salaries, meat, fodder for horses, and clothing allowances to the Sultanic Mamluk corps were delayed. Throughout Jaqmaq's reign, the Sultanic Mamluk corps often protested against these delays by demanding the dismissal of the *ustādār al-'āliya* (the supreme major-domo), who was in charge of providing the stipends to the Sultanic Mamluk corps, by attacking him en masse, and by demonstrating for a pay rise.⁶ It seems reasonable to assume that Qijmās also participated in these riots as a member of the Sultanic Mamluk corps.

After his master's death, Qijmās remained in his position as a rank-and-file mamluk of the Sultanic Mamluk corps under the reign of al-Ashraf Īnāl (r. 857–65/1453–61), who was enthroned after the short reign of Jaqmaq's son al-Manṣūr 'Uthmān. However, the position of the *Zāhiriyya* shifted from *mushtarawāt* of the ruling sultan to veterans called *qarānīš* and thus they lost the special status they enjoyed under their master's reign. Moreover, because Sultan Īnāl, in establishing his new government, sought to diminish the power of the *Zāhiriyya*, the power base of the last sultan, the *Zāhiriyya* revolted against Īnāl at the end of Jumādā II, 859/16 June 1455. This revolt was suppressed, however, with some dissidents being jailed and others exiled to Syria.⁷ Although Qijmās probably joined this revolt with his fellow mamluks, he seems not to have been an outstanding figure among them, since there is no evidence in any sources that he was jailed or exiled after the revolt.

- 4 In 842/1439, 847–8/1444, and 853/1449. Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr bi-Abnā' al-'Umr* (Cairo: al-Majlis al-A'lā' li-l-Shu'ūn al-Islāmiyya, 1969–98), 4: 116, 224; al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān fī Ta'rīkh Ahl al-Zamān* (Cairo: al-Zahrā' lil-I'lām al-'Arabī, 1989), 619; al-Sayrafī, *al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Kulliyāt al-Azhariyya, n.d.), 76, 87, 253–4; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Hawādith al-Duhūr fī madā' al-Ayyām wa-l-Shuhūr* (Cairo: Lajnat Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1990), 1: 71, 152, 155; idem, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira* (Cairo: Wizārat al-Thaqāfa, 1963–72), 15: 389, 392; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nuḥūs wa-l-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān* (Cairo: Maṭba'at Dār al-Kutub, al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-'Āmma li-l-Kitāb, 1970–94), 4: 298. Jaqmaq's four sons, two daughters, sister, and wife were killed by the plague. See al-Sakhāwī, *Tibr*, 275, 283, 287, 293–4, 298–9; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Hawādith* (1990), 1: 152–5.
- 5 A. Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt, 1250–1517* (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 158–61.
- 6 D. Igarashi, *Land Tenure, Fiscal Policy, and Imperial Power in Medieval Syro-Egypt* (Chicago Studies on the Middle East, 10, Chicago: Middle East Documentation Center, the University of Chicago, 2015), 67. Eight protests of this kind (in Rabī' II and Rajab of 842/1438–9, 846/1442–3, 850/1446, 852/1448, 854/1450, and Ṣafar and Sha'bān of 855/1451) are on record. Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rīfat Duwal al-Mulūk* (Cairo: Lajnat al-Ta'līf wa-l-Tarjama wa-l-Nashr, 1939–73), 4: 1091–5, 1103; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 4: 96–7; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzha*, 4: 29–37, 54; al-Sakhāwī, *Tibr*, 217, 346, 352; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 15: 264, 279–80, 352, 435; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Hawādith* (1990), 1: 42–4, 97, 135–7, 213–6, 273; al-'Aynī, *'Iqd*, 656; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1960–75), 2: 279, 289, 291.
- 7 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 16: 87–91.

Political and social instability worsened considerably during the reign of Īnāl. Plague broke out three times during his reign.⁸ Notably, the third instance caused immense damage and many mamluks of the Sultanic Mamluk corps fell victim to the plague. There is no doubt that the majority of casualties of the plague were, in general, the socially disadvantaged including the poor, the aged, and children. However, this was not true in Mamluk society. The Mamluks, who were brought to Egypt as slaves from elsewhere, did not have effective immunity to such diseases and when the plague took hold, a large number fell victim to it.⁹ Specifically, this epidemic claimed the lives of more than half of Sultan Īnāl's *mushtarawāt*.¹⁰ There were no doubt many victims among the *Zāhiriyya* since a large number perished besides *mushtarawāt*.

The situation of the *Zāhiriyya*, who endured harsh treatment under Īnāl, changed drastically in the reign of al-*Zāhir* Khushqadam (r. 865–72/1461–67), who succeeded Īnāl and his son al-Mu'ayyad Aḥmad. Throughout his reign, the *Zāhiriyya* expanded its power and influence; and many of its members were promoted to amirate and took positions of power in the government. The numbers of *Zāhiriyya* reached more than 600, including five amirs of a hundred (*amīr mi'a muqaddam alf*) and many amirs of forty (*amīr al-ṭablkhāna*) and of ten (*amīr 'ashara*), making them the largest and most influential group among the ruling class. Sultan Khushqadam relied heavily on the *Zāhiriyya* in the management of government.¹¹ However, Qijmās did not stand out despite his colleagues' advancement. During the reign of Khushqadam, Qijmās belonged to the rank-and-file of the *khāṣṣakiyya* (intimate mamluks),¹² the elite of the Sultanic Mamluk corps, and filled the office of *khāzindār kīs* (purse-holder), a minor military officer responsible for distributing alms to the needy during royal processions.¹³ When a Bedouin revolt led by Yūnus ibn 'Umar, the Amir of Hawwāra Arabs, broke out in Upper Egypt in Rabī' I 872/October 1467, Qijmās was dispatched to Sulaymān ibn 'Umar, who was appointed as the Amir of Hawwāra Arabs instead of Yūnus, to take a *khil'a* (robe of honour) to him.¹⁴ Eventually, he was promoted to the amirate of ten after Khushqadam's death and the enthronement of al-*Zāhir* Yalbāy in 872/1467.¹⁵

Shortly after taking the throne, Sultan Yalbāy was dethroned by a coup d'état. Al-*Zāhir* Timurbughā, who succeeded Yalbāy, was also soon overthrown. The ascension to the throne of al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy in Rajab 872/February 1468, after Timurbughā, became the turning point of Qijmās's career. In addition to

8 In 858/1454, 859/1454–55, and 864/1459–60. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Hawādith* (1990), 1: 417, 443, 452; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Hawādith al-Duhūr fī madā al-Ayyām wa-l-Shuhūr* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930–42), 331, 333–8; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*: 16, 136–47; 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl*, 5: 431, 434; 6: 74–7, 79–83; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i*, 2: 322, 356–60.

9 D. Ayalon, "The plague and its effects upon the Mamlūk army", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1946, 69–70.

10 Ayalon, "The plague and its effect", 71.

11 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Hawādith al-Duhūr* (1930–42), 551–2.

12 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 16: 303; 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl*, 6: 275; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i*, 2: 453.

13 al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, 6: 213. D.P. Little, "Khaznadār, Khāzindār", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd. ed. vol. 4 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978), 1186–7.

14 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i*, 2: 453.

15 al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, 6: 213.

their fellowship (*khushdāshiyya*) as *Zāhiriyya* mamluks (Qāyṭbāy was also a member of the *Zāhiriyya*),¹⁶ Qijmās was known as Qāyṭbāy's "junior brother" (*inī*).¹⁷ According to David Ayalon, the term "junior brother" does not signify a blood relationship but instead indicates the close ties of mamluks who had been purchased and emancipated by the same patron.¹⁸ The fact that Qāyṭbāy settled Qijmās in his private house in the al-Bāṭiliyya quarter of Cairo shows the new sultan's favour to him.¹⁹ As a result of his intimacy with the new sultan, Qijmās stood out from the start. When the viceroy of Damascus, Bardbak, died in Muḥarram 875/July 1470, Qijmās was dispatched by the sultan to Damascus for the confiscation of Bardbak's property. Immediately after his return to Cairo, in Jumādā II/November of that year, he was appointed *amīr khāzindār* (treasurer).²⁰ In the following month, he was appointed viceroy of Alexandria.²¹ After the late eighth/fourteenth century, the office of the viceroy of Alexandria was usually filled by amirs with the rank of either amir of ten or amir of forty.²² Nevertheless, Qijmās remained in office as the viceroy of Alexandria even after his promotion to the amirate of a hundred in Jumādā II 877/November 1472.²³ Furthermore, after his installation as *amīr ākhūr kabīr* (amir of horses) in Jumādā I 880/September 1475,²⁴ which ranked fifth or sixth in the hierarchy of the military officers of the Mamluk government, he continued to hold the office of viceroy of Alexandria until Dhū al-Qa'ḍa 882/February 1478. According to Yutaka Horii, some amirs of a hundred exceptionally filled the office of viceroy of Alexandria during a very tense situation in the Mediterranean in the late Mamluk period, when relations between European countries and the Mamluk Sultanate were strained.²⁵ Qijmās's appointment shows that he had Qāyṭbāy's fullest confidence. During his tenure, Qijmās received Qāyṭbāy's tour of inspection to Alexandria in Rabī' I 882/June–July 1477, and proceeded with the construction of a fortress at the mouth of the Alexandrian port.²⁶ Soon thereafter, the viceroyship was given to another amir and Qijmās returned to Cairo as *amīr ākhūr kabīr*. The next year, Qijmās travelled to Mecca in command of the ḥajj pilgrimage caravan as *amīr al-ḥājj*.²⁷

16 Although Qāyṭbāy was originally purchased by Sultan Barsbāy as a slave, he was regarded as a member of the *Zāhiriyya* because Barsbāy died without emancipating him and Sultan Jaqmaq retained him as a *khāṣṣakī* after his emancipation.

17 Al-Ṣayrafi, *Inbā' al-Ḥaṣr bi-Abnā' al-'Aṣr* (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 1970), 230; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 3: 55.

18 D. Ayalon, "Mamlūk: military slavery in Egypt and Syria", in *Islam and the Abode of War* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994), 14.

19 Al-Sakhāwī, *Daw'*, 6: 213.

20 Al-Ṣayrafi, *Inbā' al-Ḥaṣr*, 230, 233; 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl*, 6: 433–4; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 3: 55. Qijmās was probably given an amirate of forty at that time because the former *amīr khāzindār* had the rank of amir of forty.

21 Al-Ṣayrafi, *Inbā' al-Ḥaṣr*, 243; 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl*, 6: 435–6; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 3: 56.

22 Y. Horii, "The Mamlūk Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī (1501–16) and the Venetians in Alexandria", *Orient* 38, 2003, 180.

23 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 3: 80; 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl*, 7: 51.

24 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 3: 109–10; 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl*, 7: 138.

25 Horii, "The Mamlūk Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī", 180.

26 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 3: 130–2.

27 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 3: 146, 149; 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl*, 7: 210, 220.

Qijmās was appointed viceroy of Damascus in Shawwāl 885/December 1480, and he arrived there in Ṣafar 886/April 1481.²⁸ From this time onward, he engaged in politics and administration in Damascus and never returned to Egypt. During his tenure, he made several expeditions against the Ottomans and the Dulkadir, a Turkoman principality (beylik) in southeastern Anatolia.²⁹ In Damascus, he intervened actively in urban society by introducing a new tax on the suburbs of Damascus and by collecting infantrymen from each suburb.³⁰ He became indisposed in Rajab 892/July 1487, after visiting Safad to mediate the appointment and dismissal of the viceroy of Safad, and died on 2 Shawwāl/21 September of that year.³¹ His age at the time of death is unknown, but we can estimate that the youngest he might have been is about sixty.

Qijmās governed Damascus as viceroy for over six years and his influence continued after his death: his mamluks played important roles in the provincial administration of Damascus as senior officials of the provincial government or as private staff of successive viceroys.³² It was very rare for the mamluks of a previous viceroy to be employed under the successor; this shows that his successors could not ignore the deep influence of Qijmās and his coterie on the local government and urban society of Damascus. Contemporary chroniclers comment that he was a person of goodness, culture, and piety, as well as being brave and chivalrous and having a talent for horseback riding. Moreover, it was well known that he founded many religious and charitable institutions in Egypt and Syria.³³ Taking his life history into consideration, we shall now examine the waqf projects that Qijmās initiated.

28 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl*, 7: 272, 280, 286; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i*, 3: 175; al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā' al-Haṣr*, 507, 511; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Hawādith al-Zamān* (Cairo: al-Mu'assasa al-Miṣriyya al-Āmma, 1962–4), 1: 38; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *l'lam al-Warā bi-Man Wulliya Nā'iban min al-Atrāk bi-Dimashq al-Shām al-Kubrā* (Damascus: Wizārat al-Thaqāfa wa-l-Irshād al-Qawmī, 1964), 93; Ibn Ṭawq, *Al-Ta'liq: Yawmiyāt Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Ṭawq* (Damascus: Institut Français d'Études Arabes de Damas, 2000–07), 52; Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Hawādith al-Zamān wa-Wafayāt al-Shuyūkh wa-l-Aqrān* (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-Asriyya, 1999), 1: 258.

29 For further details on Mamluk military conflicts with the Dulkadir and the Ottomans in the late fifteenth century, see Shai Har-El, *Struggle for Domination in the Middle East: The Ottoman-Mamluk War, 1485–1491* (The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage, 4, Leiden, New York and Cologne: Brill, 1995).

30 T. Miura, "Urban society in Damascus as the Mamluk era was ending", *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10/1, 2006, 170–4.

31 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *l'lam*, 98; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākaha*, 1: 76–9; Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'liq*, 718.

32 Al-Buṣrawī, *Ta'rikh al-Buṣrawī* (Damascus: Dār al-Ma'mūn li-l-Turāth, 1988), 126, 141, 193, 222; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākaha*, 1: 90, 120–1, 123–4, 132, 160, 182, 197, 215, 218, 239, 244, 258–60; Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'liq*, 766, 940, 972, 1440; Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Hawādith al-Zamān*, 1: 334.

33 Al-Sakhāwī, *Daw'*, 6: 213–4; 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl*, 8: 80.

2. Qijmās's assets

2.1. Types of assets

Milk or waqf assets recorded in the waqf-related deeds of Qijmās are listed in Table 1.³⁴ There were 59 sets of assets altogether, 56 of which were ultimately turned into waqf properties. The number of sets of assets possessed or endowed as waqf by Qijmās himself was 51 of 59. The types of assets are classified as follows: 32 (54 per cent) were agricultural assets such as farmland and orchards; 20 (34 per cent) were urban real estate such as buildings; and seven (12 per cent) were other holdings such as sugar cane presses and a granary.

All the assets were located in Egypt although large-scale waqfs established by powerful figures often included assets located in Syria as well as Egypt.³⁵ It is probable that Qijmās established other waqfs in Damascus after his installation as viceroy, the endowment deeds of which have not survived to the present, and which included several assets located in Syria. Indeed, Ibn Ṭūlūn states that when Qijmās died in Damascus in 892/1487, he left a large amount of property there; but his Egyptian properties were much larger than those in Damascus.³⁶ Thus, we can be fairly certain that a higher proportion of his assets were located in Egypt.

Twenty-seven of 59 sets of assets (46 per cent) were located in urban areas: 19 in Cairo (11 in the walled Fatimid al-Qāhira, eight outside the walls); seven in Alexandria (five within the city walls, two outside the walls); and one in Damietta (outside the city walls). Thirty-one of 59 assets (53 per cent) were located in rural areas: nine in Daqaḥliyya, eight in Sharqiyya, six in Gharbiyya, two in Manūfiyya, one in Sharqiyya or Manūfiyya, one in Fuwwa, one in Abyār wa-Jazīrat Banī Naṣr, one in Qalyūbiyya, and two in Jīziyya (Giza). The location of the remaining one is unknown. All of his assets were located in Lower Egypt except for the two located in Jīziyya. The majority of his urban real estate was located in and around the capital city of Cairo (16 of 20). The majority of his agricultural assets were located in the three provinces of Daqaḥliyya, Sharqiyya, and Gharbiyya (23 of 32); but most of the farmland of his waqf were shares of *nāḥiyas* (village or tax district). Only two *nāḥiyas* were endowed en bloc, and the size of

34 As for the currency used in the waqf deeds of Qijmās, the “*dīnār*” (gold coin) is also referred to as “the Ashrafi and the Zāhiri gold coin” (*al-dhahab al-Ashrafi wa-l-Zāhiri*). The *Ashrafi dīnār* was the gold coin minted by the order of Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy. The *dīnār* introduced a new weight standard derived from the weight of the Venetian ducat. The *Zāhiri dīnār*, which was implemented by Sultan al-Zāhir Jaqmaq, had the same weight as the *Ashrafi dīnār*. The “*dirham min al-fulūs*” (lit. dirham of copper coins) is a term for a money of account in which everything was calculated in fifteenth-century Egypt. See W. Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans 1382–1468 A.D.: Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrī Birdī's Chronicle of Egypt (Continued)* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957), 49–50, 60–7; W. Schultz, “The monetary history of Egypt, 642–1517”, in *The Cambridge History of Egypt 1: Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*, ed. C.F. Petry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 333–8. In this article I call these currencies “dinar” and “copper dirham”.

35 Igarashi, *Land Tenure*, 94, 121, 144.

36 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *I'lām*, 98.

Table 1. Assets listed in the waqf deeds issued by Qijmās

No.	Assets	Types	Loc.	K/H	Date of Acquisition	Means	Date of Waqf	Deed
1	Makān	B	Q	K	—	—	11/12/869	j679
2	Makān	B	Q	K	—	—	11/12/869	j679
3	Nāḥiya	A	D	K	21/9/— (869?)	—	11/12/869	j679
4	Nāḥiya	A	D	H	—	—	(872 or 3)	j677, 670
5	Nāḥiya	A	Gh	H	18/5/—	—	(872 or 3)	j677, 670
6	Bustān, anshāb, binā' al-bi'r, and sāqiya	A	D	H	29/1/872	—	— (872 or 3)	j677, 670
7	Makān	B	Q	K	22/8/873	bd, sh 110dn	16/1/874	j670, SK272
8	Nāḥiya	A	AJ	H	—	—	16/1/874	j670
9	Nāḥiya	A	Gh	H	—	—	16/1/874	j670
10	(Binā')	B	Q	K	26/6/872	sh	16/1/874	j670
11	Binā'	B	ZQ	K	12/9/873	sh	16/1/874	j670
12	Bustān, anshāb, and binā' al-bi'r	A	D	K	7/7/871	sh 150dn	15/2/874	j695
13	Binā'	B	ZQ	K	12/9/873	—	15/2/874	j687
14	Nāḥiya	A	D	H	23/9/874	—	23/1/875	j670
15	Nāḥiya	A	Gh	H	18/9/875	sh	13/12/876	j670
16	Nāḥiya	A	Sh	H	18/9/875	sh	13/12/876	j670
17	Nāḥiya	A	Sh	H	18/9/875	sh	13/12/876	j670
18	Nāḥiya	A	Gh	K	18/9/875	sh	13/12/876	j670
19	Furn, ḥānūt, and abniyat al-ḥirfa	B	I	K	1/4/879	bd, sh 4dn	—	j673
20	Ḥānūt	B	I	K	—	new	19/8/879	j683
21	Bustān	A	I	K	20/4/879	sh 52dn (Bm) new	19/8/879	J676, 683

Continued

Table 1. Continued

No.	Assets	Types	Loc.	K/H	Date of Acquisition	Means	Date of Waqf	Deed
22	2,000 df/m from the khums tax revenue in Alexandria	C	I	K	9/10/878	new	19/8/879	j683
23	Arḍ al-mazra‘a	A	ZI	K	12/1/879	sh	19/8/879	j683
24	Maṭbakh and ḥāṣil	B	I	K	—	new	— (880?)	j683
25	Arḍ	A	ZI	K	—	—	— (880?)	j683
26	Two makāns	B	Q	K	—	sh	18/8/881	j670
27	Makān	B	Q	K	10/8/873	sh	18/8/881	j670
28	Mi‘šara	C	ZQ	H	—	sh	18/8/881	j670
29	Mi‘šara	C	Sh	H	28/6/(881?), 22/11/880	sh	18/8/881	j670
30	Shūna	C	J	K	29/10/880	sh	18/8/881	j670
31	Arḍ al-bustān, anshāb, and binā’ al-bi‘r	A	Qal	K	12/7/874	sh	18/8/881	j670
32	Anshāb	A	D	H	5/3/874	sh	18/8/881	j670
33	Nāḥiya	A	Sh	H	27/4/878	sh	18/8/881	j670
34	Nāḥiya and arḍ	A	Gh	H	—	—	18/8/881	j670
35	Bustān	A	D	H	14/1/881?	—	18/8/881	j670
36	Mi‘šara and its equipment (‘udda)	C	ZQ	H	10/3/881	sh 100dn	18/8/881	j672
37	Mi‘šara	C	?	H	24/7/881	sh 300dn	18/8/881	j691
38	Makān	B	Q	K	14/8/881	sh	18/8/881	j685
39	Makān	B	Q	H	14/8/881	sh	18/8/881	j674
40	Sāqiya, anshāb, bawwāba (gate), and other facilities in a bustān	A	ZD	H	?/12/882	sh	19/10/883	j670
41	Nāḥiya	A	Gh	H	26/4/877	sh	19/10/883	j670
42	Nāḥiya	A	Sh	H	8/10/882	sh	19/10/883	j670
43	Mi‘šara (binā’ al-dūlāb)	C	F	H	2/2/882	sh	19/10/883	j670
44	Binā’	B	ZQ	K	1/8/884	sh	—	j735
45	Nāḥiya	A	Sh	H	8/6/884	—	15/1/885	j670

46	Makān	B	ZQ	K	2/2/884	bd	29/1/886	j680
47	Dār	B	ZQ	K	27/12/883	bd	29/1/886	j684
48	Makān	B	ZQ	K	10/5/884	bd	29/1/886	j671, 690
49	Makān	B	Q	K	29/4/884	bd	29/1/886	j682, 689, 692
50	Binā'	B	Q	K	13/7/886	sh	—	j693
51	Binā'	B	Q	K	13/7/886	sh	—	j686
52*	Nāḥiya	A	Sh	H	—	Bm	22/8/877	j670
53*	Nāḥiya	A	Sh or M	H	—	Bm	22/8/877	j670
54*	Nāḥiya	A	M	H	—	Bm	22/8/877	j670
55*	Nāḥiya	A	M	H	—	Bm	22/8/877	j670
56*	Nāḥiya	A	Sh	H	—	Bm	22/8/877	j670
57*	Nāḥiya	A	D	K	—	Bm	22/8/877	j670
58*	Nāḥiya	A	D	K	—	Bm	19/10/883	j670
59*	Two qit'as	A	J	K	—	Bm	— (884?)	j670

*Assets endowed by Sultan Qāyṭbāy as waqfs for Qijmās.

Assets: abniyat al-ḥirfa = workshops, anshāb = trees, arḍ = land, arḍ al-mazra'a = farmland, binā' = structure, bi'r = well, bustān = orchard, dār = house, furn = oven, ḥānūt = shop, ḥāṣil = storeroom, makān = building, maṭbakh = kitchen, mi'šara (mi'šara li-i'tiṣār al-qaṣab al-sukkarī) = sugarcane press, nāḥiya = tax district, qit'a = a piece of land, sāqiya = water-wheel, shūna = granary, df = dirham min al-fulūs (copper dirham), /m = per month.

Types: A = agricultural asset, B = urban real estate, C = other types.

Loc. = location: AJ = Abyār wa-Jazīrat Banī Naṣr, D = Daqaḥliyya, F = Fuwwa, Gh = Gharbiyya, J = Jīziyya, I = al-Iskandariyya, M = Manūfiyya, Sh = Sharqiyya, Q = al-Qāhira, Qal = Qalyūbiyya, ZD = Ḍāhir Dimiyāt, ZI = Ḍāhir al-Iskandariyya, ZQ = Ḍāhir al-Qāhira.

K/H: K = kāmīl (the whole asset), H = ḥiṣṣa (a portion of the asset).

Dates: day/month/year (Hijri calendar), — = unknown.

Means (Means of acquisition): bd = istibdāl, Bm = amlāk bayt al-māl, dn = dinar, sh = shirā' (purchase), new = newly built by Qijmās, — = unknown.

these *nāḥiyas* was comparatively small.³⁷ Furthermore, according to Ibn al-Jī'ān's *Tuhfa*, 13 *nāḥiyas* were assigned to the *iqṭā'* of Qijmās when he served at the post of *amīr ākhūr kabīr*;³⁸ but these *nāḥiyas* were scattered all over Egypt and there is no relation between the locations of his *iqṭā'*s and those of his waqf property. On the basis of examination of waqf deeds of the sultans Qāyṭbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī (r. 906–22/1501–16), Carl F. Petry suggests that they held Egyptian landed property in the form of “fractionalized shareholding”, meaning they held shares of *nāḥiyas*, the sites of which were randomly scattered, without accumulating contiguous blocks of landed properties.³⁹ The pattern of Qijmās's land-holdings also confirms this trend.

It is noteworthy that several sugar cane presses (*mī'šara*) were included among his property. Five sugar cane presses were endowed by him as waqf, at least four of which were acquired after his installation as *amīr ākhūr kabīr*. It is known that the sugar-refining industry developed in Mamluk Egypt, and that sultans and amirs profited from the management of sugar refineries.⁴⁰ Qijmās also followed the trend of the military ruling elite to hold sugar-related facilities as private sources of revenue.

2.2. Means of acquisition of assets

Of the 51 assets possessed or endowed by Qijmās himself, 30 were acquired through purchase (two of the 30 were purchased after their *istibdāl*, i.e. the exchange of one waqf-endowed property for another); but their prices are unknown in all except in six cases. Four of 51 were acquired through *istibdāl*. The means of acquisition of the remainder is unknown.

The dates of acquisition are recorded in the deeds in 40 cases. According to the dates, Qijmās acquired several assets per year from Shawwāl 880/February 1476, just after his promotion to the post of *amīr ākhūr kabīr*, to 885/1480, the year in which he was appointed viceroy of Damascus. This shows that as he advanced higher in the government he acquired more assets, probably due to his increasing financial power. Both the dates of acquisition and endowment are known in 32 cases. Fifteen of 32 were endowed as waqf within a year of their acquisition. Ten of the remainder were endowed within two years of acquisition. This shows that Qijmās acquired these assets with a view to endowing them as waqf.

37 According to Ibn al-Jī'ān, the annual revenue (*'ibra*) from Bayramūt (no. 3 in Table 1) was 400 jayshī dinars, and that from Kawm al-Raml (no. 18) was 1,100 jayshī dinars. Ibn al-Jī'ān, *Kitāb al-Tuhfa al-Saniyya bi-Asmā' al-Bilād al-Miṣriyya* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Kulliyyāt al-Azhariyyah, 1974), 51, 88. The jayshī dinar (*dīnār jayshī*; lit. army dinar) is a money of account that was used to measure the value of the annual revenues of *nāḥiyas*. W. Schultz, “The mechanisms of commerce”, in R. Irwin (ed.), *The New Cambridge History of Islam 4: Islamic Cultures and Societies to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 345–8.

38 Ibn al-Jī'ān, *Tuhfa*, 12, 15, 52, 54, 61, 96, 105, 116, 119, 138, 155, 186, 194.

39 C.F. Petry, “Fractionalized estates in a centralized regime: the holdings of al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī according to their waqf deeds”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient (JESHO)* 41/1, 1998, 96–117.

40 T. Sato, *Sugar in the Social Life of Medieval Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 63–4.

Istibdāl is a means of exchanging property endowed as waqf for another private property. Through istibdāl, a deteriorated waqf property could be exchanged for another, profitable, property; hence it was critical for stabilizing waqf income and for retaining the waqf itself. However, in the Mamluk period, it was utilized by powerful figures as a means of privatizing waqf property.⁴¹ On 22 Shaʿbān 873/7 March 1469, when he was a mere amir of ten, Qijmās purchased a building from a man, which had been a waqf property and which had been acquired by the man through istibdāl on the same day (no. 7 in Table 1). This proves that a relatively low-ranking amir could also acquire waqf property through istibdāl. The process of Qijmās’s acquisition of the asset no. 19 in Table 1 is a more interesting example. On 28 Şafar 879/14 July 1474, a woman named Badriyya, the administrator (*nāẓir*) of the waqf for the tomb of her maternal grandfather Qadīd al-Qalamṭāʿī (d. 801/1398), an ex-vice-roy of Alexandria, which was outside of the Rashīd gate (the Eastern gate of Alexandria), entrusted Qijmās, then vice-roy of Alexandria, with the responsibility of the administratorship. Then, on 24 Rabīʿ I/8 August, Qijmās’s agent (*wakīl*) al-Şārimī Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad Amīr ʿAlam appealed to the deputy judge of Alexandria for the istibdāl of ruined assets that consisted of a baker’s oven (*furn*), a store (*hānūt*), and workshops (*al-abniya al-hirfa*), all of which were endowed as waqf properties for the tomb. After an investigation, the deputy judge confirmed that these assets were in ruin and gave permission for istibdāl, probably because he was compelled or bribed to do so. After two days, a man named Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Salām al-Şafadī acquired these assets in exchange for payment of 1,200 copper dirhams to the waqf for the purchase of its alternative revenue source; thus the istibdāl of the assets was concluded. Then, on 1 Rabīʿ II/15 August, another agent of Qijmās purchased these assets from Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Şafadī for 4 dinars. Given that Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Şafadī resold these assets to Qijmās as soon as he acquired them, it is highly probable that Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Şafadī originally purchased them as unofficial proxy for Qijmās, with the aim of surrendering them to him. In other words, Qijmās performed istibdāl of the waqf assets based on his authority as proxy for the waqf administrator, and came to possess them as his private property in the end.⁴²

In these two cases, a two-step procedure was followed: first, a third party acquired the waqf assets through istibdāl; then, Qijmās acquired them from him. It is likely that Qijmās followed such a complicated procedure to avoid criticism for the privatization of waqf property through istibdāl. We never notice such a process of acquisition without comparing the waqf deed with the istibdāl deed of the same asset – the survival of both deeds is very rare. It is important to acknowledge the possibility that even an asset described as having been acquired through “purchase” in the waqf deed could be a waqf asset that had been purchased through an istibdāl, which had originally been donated to another object.

41 Igarashi, *Land Tenure*, 98–9.

42 This is an example of the privatization of waqf property by the administrator himself. It is known that administrators sometimes diverted waqf-endowed properties to themselves in the Mamluk period. Igarashi, *Land Tenure*, 189–90.

There are four cases in which Qijmās carried out *istibdāl* himself and directly acquired other waqf property. The building in Cairo (no. 49 in Table 1) was originally designated as the waqf of a military man called Alṭunbughā. Through an agent, Qijmās acquired this by exchanging it with half of another building standing outside Zuwayla Gate, the southern gate of Cairo. A document detailing the transaction in which Qijmās purchased the exchanged property reveals that he acquired the half of the building outside Zuwayla Gate, which he used for the exchange, only twelve days prior to carrying out this *istibdāl*, suggesting that he purchased the property solely to exchange it with property no. 49.

The use of the waqf system as a means of securing and maintaining a private source of income became widespread during this period. Those in power often privatized state land (*amlāk bayt al-māl*) and *iqṭā'*s through purchase or rental and turned them into waqfs with a view to preventing confiscation or passing the benefits on to their offspring.⁴³ An example of Qijmās purchasing state land and turning it into a waqf is no. 21 in Table 1. He purchased a piece of land outside the Rashīd Gate of Alexandria through an agent of the wakīl bayt al-māl (agent of the state treasury) on 20 Rabī' II 879/3 September 1474. After developing the land as an orchard, Qijmās then had it designated as a waqf as a financial resource of a Friday mosque that he built on the adjacent land (WA, j676). As will be described below, he was engaged with the redevelopment of this quarter through waqf-based projects and the purchase of the state land served to secure both the land and a financial resource for the redevelopment. Only this case can be confirmed by documented evidence, but there are other records of similar transactions that do not make clear the seller of the land or the means of purchase, suggesting that more pieces of land could have been acquired from the state treasury in this way.

There were seven individuals who acted as Qijmās's agents when he acquired properties through purchase or *istibdāl*. It is noteworthy that among these individuals were two members of the 'Abbāsī family to whom Qijmās was very close: Tāj al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (WA, j676), the eldest of the three siblings, and 'Imād al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq (WA, j671), the youngest. 'Abd al-Razzāq had the closest relationship with Qijmās and served as his private scribe from when Qijmās was *khāzindār*; he also taught the Quran to his mamluks. The middle brother, Muḥammad, got to know Qijmās through his involvement with the education of mamluks on behalf of his brother.⁴⁴ This shows the ways in which Qijmās's private scribe and his family members worked towards the acquisition of assets on behalf of Qijmās.

In sum, the patterns of Qijmās's asset acquisitions and means of securing them are, on the whole, consistent with those of mamluks of that time.

43 Igarashi, *Land Tenure*, 51–5, 182–8.

44 For the three members of the 'Abbāsī family, see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, 4: 195–6; 5: 107; 9: 25–6.

3. The Waqf-based projects of Qijmās: their political, social, and private contexts

3.1. The rank-and-file Mamluk period: waqf as a means of safeguarding assets

As mentioned above, Qijmās was a member of the Sultanic Mamluk corps for almost twenty years, times when they encountered difficult conditions including multiple plagues, political setbacks, and economic dissolution or late payment of salaries. On 11 Dhū al-Ḥijja 869/4 August 1465, under such circumstances, Qijmās set up his first waqf (I) (Table 2, supplementary material online).⁴⁵ He designated two buildings in Cairo and a piece of agricultural land in a *nāḥiya* of al-Daqahliyya as a waqf and nominated himself while he was alive and his son, Muḥammad, born from his wife Āsiya, after his death, as beneficiaries. Furthermore, he stipulated that after Muḥammad's death, three-quarters of the waqf income be given to his descendants on the male line (*awlād al-zuhūr*) and the other quarter be given to his two mamluks, Barsbāy and Dawlatbāy. Finally, when no beneficiaries remained, he stipulated that half the income be given to the Quran reciters (*qurrā'*; sing. *qārī'*) and their shaykh at the Azhar mosque and the other half to the poor (*fuqarā'*) of Medina.

“The self-benefitting waqf”, in which the founder himself benefits directly from the waqf, does not represent a major change in terms of the reality of property ownership compared to the pre-waqf period; the founder could designate his private property as a waqf but still manage it as the administrator and receive income from it as the beneficiary.⁴⁶ The way Qijmās's first waqf was set up – after the death of the founder, descendants and slaves freed by the founder (*'utaqā'*, sing. *'atīq*) were supposed to benefit from it, so that when the blood relation ceased, it would be used for charity – followed the typical “family waqf” format. In other words, by designating properties he owned as a waqf, Qijmās managed to keep them as sources of income, but prevented them from being confiscated in the event of political setbacks or sudden death. In addition, the waqf was established in such a way as to prevent it from being divided up by multiple inheritors after the founder's [Qijmās] death and to ensure that the surviving son, and, after his death, the descendants on the male line, as well as Qijmās's mamluks, would draw income from it. This suggests that his first aim in establishing a waqf was to secure assets for himself; and the second aim was to provide benefits to his son and mamluks after his death. As discussed earlier, the Sultanic Mamluk corps of this period was plagued by late salary payments, and, as a consequence, securing other sources of income became critical for survival. Confiscation of assets was also rife. During the plague epidemic of 864/1459–60, the *julbāns* were keen on acquiring *iqṭā'*s belonging to military

45 WA, j679. According to the document, Qijmās was a member of the *khāzindāriyya* at that time.

46 D. Igarashi, “Religious endowments of the Mamluk Amir Qijmās al-Ishāqī: a preliminary study”, in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk Eras VIII: Proceedings of the 19th, 20th, 21st and 22nd International Colloquium Organized at Ghent University in May 2010, 2011, 2012 and 2013*, ed. U. Vermeulen, K. D'hulster, and J. Van Steenberghe (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 244, Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 423–34.

personnel who had fallen victim to the disease. Those who visited the pharmacy or who did not leave their houses were suspected of having contracted the plague and in particular *qarānīs*, *awlād al-nās* (sons of the amirs and mamluks) and *ḥalqa* troopers, who were in vulnerable positions, were robbed of their *iqṭāʿ*'s even before their deaths were confirmed.⁴⁷ Under such circumstances, owning properties that promised a relatively stable level of income in the form of waqf was an appropriate method to secure and maintain assets.

This document tells us that Qijmās, at about 35–40 years of age, had married and had a son. The document also tells us that his wife was the daughter of al-Nāṣirī Muḥammad ibn Arghūn al-Qarmī. Qijmās's father-in-law, must have been a *walad al-nās* because his father had a Turkish name. However, no further details are given about his father, Arghūn, which suggests that he was not a powerful amir. The document shows that Qijmās, a rank-and-file mamluk, married the granddaughter of an unknown mamluk who was "appropriate" for his status.

Al-Nāṣirī al-Qarmī established his own waqf (II) after Qijmās set up his first (Table 3, supplementary material online). Because the document is damaged, the description of this waqf asset is missing. However, it designates al-Nāṣirī's daughter, Qijmās's wife Āsiya, as the beneficiary and after her death, her two sons, Muḥammad as mentioned above and ʿAbd al-Qādir, as well as any children who might be born after them and their descendants, as the beneficiaries. This confirms that Qijmās and Āsiya had another son. One of the notable features of this waqf is that the founder was not designated as the direct beneficiary but his daughter and her children; and it also designates his son-in-law, Qijmās, as the administrator, who was usually the founder himself. This shows that his waqf was a means of transferring certain assets to his daughter and grandchildren before his death. One of the reasons why the mamluks actively established waqfs was that, while they occupied a powerful position in the government as "one-generation" military elite, their children and descendants were left in an inferior position.⁴⁸ We can see that both Qijmās and his father-in-law were very careful about leaving assets to their children/grandchildren in the form of waqfs.

3.2. The amir of ten period (up to 875/1470): the construction of the tomb and preparations for death

When Zāhirī amirs won the power struggle after the death of Khushqadam in 872/1467, Qijmās was promoted to the amir of ten at around 40 years of age. When Qāyrbāy, with whom he had a close friendship, acceded to the throne in Rajab 872/January 1468, after the short reigns of Yalbāy and Timurbughā, further opportunities emerged for Qijmās. However, apart from this personal luck, the Mamluk Sultanate of the time was in an unprecedented crisis situation due to intensifying tensions with the outside world and domestic problems internally. Two attempted attacks on the Dulkadir in 872/1467–68 ended in failure, but marked a threat to the security of the Mamluk Sultanate in northern Syria. The deployment of troops and financing of the invasion, as well as the rebuilding of state finances in order to carry out military activities, were urgently

47 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr* (1930–42), 334–6; idem, *Nujūm*, 16: 142–3.

48 Igarashi, *Land Tenure*, 183–4.

needed. In addition, rebellions by the Bedouins occurred frequently in Egypt, and amirs were sent to various provinces to quell such uprisings.⁴⁹ Against this background, a large-scale plague hit Egypt from Jumādā II 873/December 1468 to Shawwāl 873/May 1469, for the first time in nine years. It is said that the epidemic claimed as many as 5,000 victims per day at its peak.⁵⁰

Under these circumstances, Qijmās modified the setting of the aforementioned waqf (I) and, by adding three sets of agrarian property as sources of income, a new waqf (III) was established (Table 4, supplementary material online).⁵¹ The new waqf had ten orphans, a *mu'addib* (maktab teacher), ten sufi Quran reciters, and others as beneficiaries; and, after Qijmās and his descendants died out, those who would perform *ṣalāt* for them were designated as the beneficiaries. The waqf also stipulated that when Qijmās died, a *qayyim* (guard) and a cook should prepare food to be placed in the place where Qijmās would be buried. What remained from the waqf income after spending on these “good deeds” was to be directed to Qijmās himself while he was alive and, after his death, the surplus was to be spent on his descendants, the slaves freed by him, and the poor of Mecca and Medina, in this order. His new waqf aimed first and foremost at carrying out charitable activities; and it was now clear that he had become very aware of his own death and of the need for preparing for the afterlife.

Why did he dissolve the waqf to secure income for himself and his children and establish a new waqf? One must examine the changes in expression used to refer to his children in the document. As seen above, in waqfs I and II, his sons were individually named as the beneficiaries; but in waqf III, individual names were removed and an abstract expression “his children (*awlāduhu*)”, a standard term used in many waqf deeds, was used instead. As discussed, the epidemic of the time claimed many victims among the amirs and notables (*a'yān*), and particularly hit were mamluks and their young children. Sultan Qāyṭbāy lost his young first son and a daughter.⁵² Moreover, Qijmās had no surviving children when he died.⁵³ Taking this all into consideration, it is not far-fetched to conclude that his two sons fell victim to the plague, and that by the time waqf III was set up, they had passed away. In other words, the establishment of the new waqf reflected changes in his view of life and death after losing his children. This, of course, remains mere speculation, but it is reasonable to assume that a heightened sense of his own mortality and a desire to do good deeds for the afterlife was behind the modification of the waqf.

At the stage of waqf III, the place of burial and good deeds was stipulated simply as “a place that the founder specifies”, but this condition was modified soon after. Qijmās designated his newly built tomb (*turba*) in al-Ṣaḥrā', a burial quarter in suburban Cairo, as a waqf (IV) on 16 Muḥarram 874/26 July 1469 (Table 5,

49 Igarashi, *Land Tenure*, 149–53.

50 Al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā' al-Ḥaṣr*, 46, 53–4, 57–61; 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl*, 6: 357, 361–70; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 3: 28, 30–1.

51 The exact date is unknown but, judging from the title (al-Janāb al-Karīm) given to Qijmās in the deed, it was clearly after his promotion to amir of the ten. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-'Uqūd wa-Mu'īn al-Qudāt wa-l-Muwaqqi'īn wa-l-Shuhūd* (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya, 1955), 2: 590.

52 Al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā' al-Ḥaṣr*, 60; 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl*, 6: 366; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 3: 30.

53 Al-Sakhāwī, *Daw'*, 6: 213.

supplementary material online). At this time, together with his own waqfs (I and III), the waqf (II) belonging to al-Nāṣirī Muḥammad al-Qarmī, his father-in-law, was modified and added to waqf IV, which led to an increase in the waqf assets. Furthermore, on 15 Ṣafar/24 August, he added two properties to his waqf (V) (Table 6, supplementary material online). According to these waqfs, five reciters of the Quran were to be placed at the tomb, and on every Friday, the Two Feasts (‘*Īḍayn*’), and ‘*Āshūrā*’ (the 10th Day of Muḥarram), bread and meals were to be provided to the poor. A cistern (*ṣihrīj*) was also established for public use. The waqf stipulated that his wife, Āsiya, would receive 500 copper dirhams a month and that an annual donation of 10,000 copper dirhams would be made to the poor of Mecca and Medina. What was left after these expenses was to be divided between Qijmās himself (and after his death, his descendants), and the slaves freed by him and their descendants at the ratio of 2 to 1.

At this time, Qijmās made changes to all of the waqfs that he and his father-in-law had established, and they were re-established as a waqf to his own tomb. According to Adam Sabra, in the Egypt of the 860s/1490s, the “tomb waqf”, which combined maintenance of the tomb of the founder and provision of meals to the poor, spread rapidly.⁵⁴ This functioned not only to secure the burial place of the founder, but also to continue amassing good deeds for the last judgement by having the Quran recital on the founder’s behalf and prayers to God performed after the founder’s death, and by continuing to practise good deeds through the provision of meals. The years 873/1468–69, when he was engaged in the construction of his tomb, were times not only of the aforementioned plague, but also of several attempted attacks on the Dulkadir and efforts to quell the Bedouins’ rebellions. It can be assumed that a situation in which fear of death, whether by disease or in battle, was brought to the fore affected Qijmās with regard to the building of his tomb and the complete overhaul of the waqfs that accompanied the former. It is not clear, however, whether he was involved in these military campaigns. According to Sabra, the “tomb waqf” was often established by low-ranking mamluks as well as the *awlād al-nās* and women related to military personnel who did not have the financial means to build larger facilities such as the Friday mosques or madrasas.⁵⁵ It is fitting that Qijmās, who had just been promoted to amir of ten, chose the “tomb waqf” form, which was appropriate to his status as well as the fashion of that time, when he set up a waqf for charity.

It is estimated that charitable acts at this tomb began from 23 Muḥarram 875/ 22 July 1470 when he established another waqf (VI) for its staff (Table 7, supplementary material online). Qijmās added a portion of a *nāḥiya* as a waqf asset. In addition, he appointed nine named sufi Quran reciters and their shaykh to perform services at the tomb, and stipulated the contents of their activities including recitation of the Quran after the Fajr Prayer. He also appointed a person to act as *farrāsh* (janitor), *waqqād* (lamp-lighter), and *muzammalātī* (man in charge of the distribution of water), and another to be in charge of waqf accounts to keep the operations running. This was the time when prices in Cairo shot up

54 Sabra, *Poverty and Charity*, 88–94.

55 Sabra, *Poverty and Charity*, 92–3.

due to the lack of Nile flooding, which led to food shortages (from Rajab 874/January 1470 to the following year). Muḥarram 875/July 1470, when Qijmās established this waqf, was when food prices reached their peak and it is said that people survived by eating bread made of corn and millet instead of wheat.⁵⁶ Rulers often performed prayers and alms giving in times of crisis, asking for forgiveness from God; and these performances often took place in al-Ṣaḥrā'.⁵⁷ Although on a much smaller scale, Qijmās's charitable activities at his tomb can be seen as bearing a similar meaning.

These findings show that the religious and charitable reasons, motivated by the founder's personal and social circumstances, moved him to establish the "tomb waqf". However, at the same time, we should not overlook the financial aspect of the waqf. Making a rough, tentative calculation of the income from four landed assets of the waqf (4, 5, 8, and 9 in Table 1) based on the information derived from *Tuḥfa*, and comparing it with the sums designated in the waqf deed to spend on charitable purposes, only 10 per cent of the revenues earned from the four waqf properties was to be spent on the above-specified purposes.⁵⁸ According to the waqf stipulation, the remainder was to be divided between Qijmās and his mamluks in a ratio of 2:1. Thus, Qijmās was expected to earn about 467,000 copper dirhams per year, which approximately equaled the salaries of 19 sultanic mamluks.⁵⁹ Furthermore, if we assume that the number of his mamluks was ten because Qijmās held the rank of amir of ten at that time, each of his mamluks was expected to earn an amount that approximately equalled the salary of a sultanic mamluk. This estimation will remain speculative, but it seems reasonable to suppose that this "tomb waqf" functioned as a private source of revenue for Qijmās and his mamluks, the flow of money of which was cleverly hidden from view.⁶⁰

3.3. The viceroy of Alexandria period (up to 880/1457): promoting public interests

Qijmās was appointed viceroy of Alexandria on 25 Rajab 875/17 January 1471, and accordingly he left Cairo for the port city. The first waqf he established upon appointment was on 13 Dhū al-Ḥijja 876/22 May 1472, in which four pieces of agricultural land in Lower Egypt were made into a waqf with Qijmās as the beneficiary (waqf VII) (Table 8, supplementary material online). These properties were all purchased on 18 Ramaḍān 875/10 March 1471, soon after his appointment. The income was directly allocated to himself and it was stipulated that, after his death, the income was to be added to the tomb waqf (IV) established earlier; thus it is clear that this waqf was set up for the

56 Sabra, *Poverty and Charity*, 161–2.

57 T. Ohtoshi, "Cairene cemeteries as public loci in Mamluk Egypt", *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10/1, 2006, 103–6.

58 Based on the following calculations: 1 jayshī dinar = 4/5 dinar; 1 dinar = 300 copper dirhams. Cf. Popper, *Egypt and Syria*, 77; Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?*, 212–3 n.

59 The regular monthly salary (*jāmakīyya*) for a sultanic mamluk was 2,000 copper dirhams. Igarashi, *Land Tenure*, 156.

60 The first scholar to pay much attention to the discrepancy between revenues from waqf assets, and sums actually spent on stated waqf charities, was C.F. Petry. See Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?* 199–200, 202–3.

purpose of securing income for himself while he was alive. When the reign of Qāyṭbāy was finally stabilized and he was promoted to a middle-ranking position as viceroy of Alexandria, it was natural for him to start working on acquiring and securing private assets through the waqf system. At this time, paying cash to the sultan at the time of one's appointment and paying bribes to the notables in order to facilitate favourable appointments was widely practised.⁶¹ Although our sources do not show Qijmās having obtained public office by this means, the situation suggests that he could not afford to neglect the procurement of stable sources of income apart from *iqṭā'* so as to secure his status and prepare for future promotion.

At the same time, he was actively engaged in waqf projects to promote public interest while he was in office in Alexandria. On 19 Sha'bān 879/29 December 1474, he built a new Friday mosque (*jāmi'*) outside Rashīd Gate, the east gate of Alexandria, and other facilities such as a convent (*zāwiya*) and ablution basin (*mīḍa'a*) next to the mosque, which were all made a waqf (VIII) (Table 9, supplementary material online). Al-Sakhāwī reports that Qijmās built these institutions for the security of travellers arriving at the gate after sunset and having to spend the night there, and that people benefitted enormously from the construction of these facilities.⁶² Qijmās also designated a financial source in the waqf to provide bread to the poor at the mosque; later, he further developed this meal provision service by building a kitchen and warehouse in the Viceregal Palace (Dār al-Sa'āda). He established another waqf (IX) to provide bread, water, and soup (*dashīsha*) to the poor who visit the mosque and the Mausoleum (*maqām*) of Shaykh 'Abd Allāh al-Barq outside Baḥr Gate, the north gate of Alexandria (Table 10, supplementary material online). Although this waqf deed does not survive, he also rebuilt the Ṣawārī mosque outside Sadra Gate (the south gate of the city), built a convent (*ribāt*) outside Baḥr Gate, and built a number of public fountains (*asbila*; sing. *sabīl*).⁶³ Constructing these religious institutions and implementing public projects was an important duty for the ruler; and, as viceroy, Qijmās promoted public interests in Alexandria through these waqf projects. The number of building projects that Qijmās initiated while in office far exceeded the record of his predecessors. This is probably because he held the rank of amir of a hundred, which was a higher rank than that normally held by the viceroy, and because he had the financial means to carry out large-scale waqf projects. In fact, the waqf projects VIII and IX were carried out after his promotion to amir of a hundred.

The Friday mosque Qijmās built outside Rashīd Gate had an adjacent tomb. It was then decided that a former sultan, al-Zāhir Timurbughā, who had passed away shortly after the completion of the mosque on 8 Dhū al-Ḥijja 879/15

61 T. Miura, "Administrative networks in the Mamlūk period: taxation, legal execution, and bribery", in *Islamic Urbanism in Human History: Political Power and Social Networks*, ed. T. Sato (London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1997), 42–51; B. Martel-Thoumian "The sale of office and its economic consequences during the rule of the last Circassians (872–922/1468–1516)", *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9/2, 2005, 49–83.

62 Al-Sakhāwī, *Daw'*, 6: 213.

63 Al-Sakhāwī, *Daw'*, 6: 213; 'Abd al-'Azīz Sālim, *Tārīkh al-Iskandariyya wa-Ḥaḍārathā fī al-'Aṣr al-Islāmī*. 2nd. ed. (Alexandria: Dār al-Ma'ārif), 476, 483.

April 1475, was to be buried there. Timurbughā was expelled from Cairo after his dethronement in 872/1468. He spent the remainder of his life first in Damietta and then in Alexandria. Qijmās buried him in the courtyard (*hawsh*) next to the mosque, built a dome (*qubba*), and emplaced Quran reciters.⁶⁴ It is not clear whether he originally intended this tomb for his own use. However, given that he had already secured his own tomb in Cairo and that Timurbughā had been invalidated for months, it is also possible that the tomb was intended for Timurbughā from the beginning. Both Qijmās and Timurbughā were from the same al-*Zāhiriyya* and they were not distant from each other. As discussed earlier, Qijmās once accompanied a pilgrimage to Mecca when he was a rank-and-file mamluk; on this occasion, he was an attendant of Timurbughā (who served twice as an *amīr al-hājīj*).⁶⁵ In addition, when Timurbughā was brought down by a rebellion within two months of his accession to the sultanate, Qijmās was one of ten or so amirs who stayed loyal to him until the end.⁶⁶ We can see Qijmās's sympathies towards his former colleague and ruler, whose last years were spent in the city of his appointment, in the tomb for Timurbughā attached to his mosque.

3.4. The *amīr ākhūr kabīr* period (up to 886/1481): securing assets and construction of a monumental institutions

In Jumādā I 880/September 1475, Qijmās was appointed *amīr ākhūr kabīr* and returned to Cairo. However, because his successor, Qānim Qushayr, the viceroy of Alexandria, died suddenly, he resumed his previous position in addition to this new one, and returned to Alexandria.⁶⁷ Qijmās now occupied an important position and was one of the most powerful figures in the government; he designated a total of 14 properties – including agricultural lands, urban properties and sugar cane presses – to a waqf with himself as the beneficiary on 18 Sha'bān 881/6 December 1476 (waqf X) (Table 11, supplementary material online). The fact that almost all of these waqf properties (Nos 29–30, 35–39 in Table 1) had been obtained after his promotion to the amir of a hundred suggests that he intended to expand his private sources of income after his promotion to *amīr ākhūr kabīr* and to secure his private assets through the waqf system and, further, that the promotion enabled him to establish a large-scale “self-benefitting waqf”. Incidentally, there was a plague in Egypt and Syria from 881/1476 to 882/1477, the first time in eight years. It was reported that in Upper Egypt dead bodies were abandoned without being washed or buried, and that some small villages saw their populations wiped out. The epidemic inflicted serious damage on Cairo, including 2,000 deaths among Qāyṭbāy's *mushtarawāt*.⁶⁸ It can be speculated that Qijmās managed to acquire a large number of properties one after another during the epidemic because it was relatively easy to acquire the assets of owners who fell victim to plague. However, the records in the

64 Al-Sakhāwī, *Daw'*, 3: 40–1.

65 Al-Sakhāwī, *Daw'*, 6: 213.

66 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 16: 388.

67 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl*, 7: 138, 162; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 3: 109–10.

68 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl*, 7: 158, 165, 167–74, 177–8, 184–5, 187; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 3: 122–4; al-Buṣrawī, *Ta'rīkh*, 80–1.

waqf deed regarding how a property was acquired do not show much difference from those of other periods.⁶⁹

Qijmās was released from the position of viceroy of Alexandria in Dhū al-Qa‘da 882/February 1478, and returned to Cairo. On 19 Shawwāl 883/13 January 1479, he established yet another waqf (XI) (Table 12, supplementary material online). The new waqf had four newly acquired properties as its source of income and was intended to expand the activities of his tomb and to institute new charitable activities for sufīs training at Azhar mosque, to pay for the maintenance and personnel costs at the convent (*zāwiya*) of Shaykh Mūsā, and to provide for Quran reciters in Mecca and Medina. What is notable in this waqf is the date on which it was established. Qijmās set off to Mecca as the *amīr al-ḥājj* in 883/1479, and the waqf was established just prior to his departure from Cairo.⁷⁰ That he set up a waqf focusing on charitable activities in this period suggests that his piety and motivation to carry out good deeds were heightened as he faced the important religious event of pilgrimage to Mecca.

Upon his return from Mecca in Muḥarram 884/March–April 1479, Qijmās started a project to build a religious complex called Qijmāsiyya Madrasa, a huge Friday mosque-madrasa with a tomb and sabīl-kuttāb attached, in al-Darb al-Aḥmar quarter outside Zuwayla Gate, the south gate of Cairo (waqf XII) (Table 13, supplementary material online).⁷¹ Al-Darb al-Aḥmar was the “umbilical cord” that linked the walled Fatimid al-Qāhira, the centre of commercial and religious activity, to the Citadel, the seat of government, and formed the last stretch of the sultan’s processional route.⁷² The date is missing from this waqf deed, but according to the inscriptions found in the surviving building, it was completed in Ramaḍān 885/November 1480 or Muḥarram 886/March 1481.⁷³ Details of the stipulation of the institution’s activities are missing from the deed, but al-Sakhāwī states that Qijmās appointed a law lecturer (*mutaṣaddir*) and a reciter of the Hadith of Bukhārī to this as well as redesignating the site of activities for the sufīs named in the aforementioned waqf (XI),

69 On the basis of their examination of the waqf deeds of Jawhar al-Lālā, Garcin and Taher conclude that he could purchase agricultural lands at low prices after the prevalence of plague. J.-C. Garcin and M.A. Taher, “Enquête sur le financement d’un waqf égyptien du XVe siècle: Les comptes de Jawhar al-lālā”, *JESHO* 38, 1995, 272–80, 301.

70 The exact date on which Qijmās set off with the ḥājj pilgrims is unknown, but the pilgrims usually left Cairo between the 16th and 19th of Shawwāl. A. ‘Ankawi, “The pilgrimage to Mecca in Mamlūk times”, *Arabian Studies* 1, 1974, 148.

71 As for the institution, see ‘Alī Mubārak, *Al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfiqiyya al-Jadīda li-Miṣr al-Qāhira wa-Mudunihā wa-Bilādihā al-Qadīma al-Shahīra* (Būlāq: al-Maṭba‘a al-Kubrā al-Amīriyya, 1304–06h), 4: 48–50; G. El-Hamamsy, “The mosque of Qijmas al-Ishaqī” (MA thesis, American University in Cairo, 2010); Hasan ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, *Tārīkh al-Masājid al-Athariyya fī al-Qāhira* (Beirut: Awrāq Sharqiyya, 1994): 1: 261–6; D. Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks: A History of the Architecture and Its Culture* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 286–90; D. Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo: An Introduction* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1989), 151–2.

72 N. Rabbat, “The urban character of al-Darb al-Ahmar”, in *Living in Historic Cairo: Past and Present in an Islamic City*, ed. F. Daftary, E. Fernea, and A. Nanji (London: Azimuth Edition in association with the Institute of Ismaili Studies and University of Washington Press, 2010), 31.

73 M. Van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum arabicarumre, Première partie, Égypte* (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1979), 1: 509–13.

who were conducting rituals at Azhar mosque, to this place.⁷⁴ Moreover, we can find in sources that this facility had a sufi shaykh/professor (*mudarris*) of Shafi'i jurisprudence, a Hanafi professor, an imam, a preacher (*khaṭīb*), and a librarian (*khāzin al-kutub*).⁷⁵ If we consider the location and high standards of architectural and decorative techniques of the facility, it is not far-fetched to say this was a building, which Qijmās – who had by this point become one of the most powerful figures of the Sultanate in name and practice – constructed to show his power and prestige as well as to leave his name in history. From a broader, political point of view, through the building of such a large-scale religious monument, he was merely playing his role as a member of the ruling elite (either consciously or unconsciously), and demonstrating the Mamluk Sultanate's authority and the “legitimacy of rule”.⁷⁶

However, his time in Cairo as the *amīr ākhūr kabīr* turned out to be short: In Shawwāl 885/December 1480, Qijmās was suddenly appointed the viceroy of Damascus thanks to another amir refusing to take office. At this time, while Qijmāsiyya Madrasa had been established as a waqf, its activities had not yet started. With the right to deliver the Friday sermon (*khuṭba*) as a Friday mosque granted by the sultan, the first Friday sermon was delivered in this institution on Friday, 1 Muḥarram 886/2 March 1481.⁷⁷ On the 15th and 29th of the same month/17 and 31 March, Qijmās successively added five properties in total to the madrasa's source of income and designated them as waqfs (XIII and XIV) (Table 14, supplementary material online). These took place fifteen days before and the day before he left Cairo to take up the position of viceroy of Damascus,⁷⁸ suggesting that his appointment as viceroy of Damascus and subsequent move was an unexpected change for Qijmās, which also served to demonstrate the depth of his commitment and attachment to this institution. Moreover, after six years, on his deathbed Qijmās sent a letter from Damascus to the sultan to be allowed to return to Cairo to be buried at the tomb attached to the madrasa; however, his wish was not realized.⁷⁹ This episode shows that he was more attached to Cairo and this madrasa than to his last post, Damascus.

3.5. The viceroy of Damascus period (up to 892/1487): the last large-scale waqf projects

Qijmās, now the viceroy of Damascus, arrived in the Syrian city on 1 Rabī' I 886/30 April 1481. It appears that he maintained his link to Cairo throughout

74 Al-Sakhāwī, *Daw'*, 6: 213.

75 Al-Sakhāwī, *Daw'*, 7: 213; 8: 215–6; 264–5; 10: 211–2.

76 Cf. Y. Frenkel, “*Awqāf* in Mamluk Bilād al-Shām”, *Mamlūk Studies Review*, 13/1, 2009, 153; A. Sabra, “Public policy or private charity? The ambivalent character of Islamic charitable endowments”, in *Stiftungen in Christentum, Judentum und Islam vor der Moderne. Auf der Suche nach ihren Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschieden in religiösen Grundlagen, praktischen Zwecken und historischen Transformationen*, ed. M. Borgolte (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005), 98–9.

77 Al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz*, 918. The inscription on the monument at the main gate, which survives to today, says that it was completed in Muḥarram 886/March 1481. Van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum arabicarum*, 1: 509.

78 Al-Ṣayrafi, *Inbā' al-Ḥaṣr*, 511–2; 'Abd al-Bāsīt, *Nayl*, 7: 280.

79 Al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz*, 1025.

his life as seen in the fact that he purchased an urban property in Cairo on 13 Rajab/7 September after his transfer to Damascus (asset nos 51 and 52 in Table 1), and that he ordered the construction of a Quran reading stand to be fitted in Qijmāsiyya Madrasa in Cairo in 887/1482.⁸⁰ As his service as viceroy of Damascus lasted more than six years, the focus of the acquisition of assets and waqf projects shifted geographically to his new home. While construction of Qijmāsiyya Madrasa in Cairo was completed with the minarets and dome undecorated,⁸¹ he actively pursued waqf projects in Damascus. On 29 Shawal 890/8 November 1485, Qijmās built a public bath (*ḥammām*) and caravanserai near the Viceregal Palace (Dār al-Sa'āda) in the centre of Damascus.⁸² In the following month, a madrasa (just like the aforementioned madrasa in Cairo, this one was also named Qijmāsiyya after him), which was being built next to these two facilities and the Viceregal Palace, was completed, and the public bath and caravanserai were made a waqf as the source of income for the madrasa. Ibn Ṭawq, who visited the facilities just after their completion, reports that there was a lot of water in the public bath and *dashīsha* soup (porridge) was served in the madrasa.⁸³ The madrasa functioned as a khanqah as well, and sufi *mujāwirūn* could stay there. A local mufti, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ramaḍān, was appointed the first sufi shaykh. Additionally, 40 Quran reciters were also emplaced.⁸⁴ In the middle of Dhū al-Qa'da/November–December, work began to build a tomb and a Dār al-Quran attached to the madrasa.⁸⁵

Needless to say, these building projects were part of Qijmās's policy to promote public interests in Damascus. Also, since the quarters in which these buildings were situated were run down, it can further be seen as an urban redevelopment project. Looking closely at the periods in which these construction projects were pursued and the buildings completed, another dimension emerges. As viceroy of Damascus, Qijmās joined the campaign against the coalition of the Dulkadir and the Ottomans in Sha'bān 888/September 1483, in response to the heightened tensions in northern Syria and Anatolia. The Mamluk side lost the first battle and suffered massive casualties; but in the battle fought near Malatya in Ramaḍān 889/September 1484, they inflicted a deadly blow to the enemy and won the battle.⁸⁶ Qijmās returned to Damascus in triumph on 1 Muḥarram 890/18 January 1485, and staged a victory parade.⁸⁷ However, the situation was not yet stabilized and the Mamluk army advanced as far as Aleppo between Rabī' II/April and Shawwāl/October of the same year,⁸⁸ and, after a brief return to Damascus, Qijmās rejoined the campaign

80 Van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum arabicarumre*, 1: 512.

81 Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture*, 151.

82 Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān*, 1: 303; Akram Ḥasan al-'Ulabī, *Khiṭaṭ Dimashq* (Damascus: Dār al-Ṭabbā', 1989), 523.

83 Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'liq*, 539.

84 Al-Nu'aymī, *Al-Dāris fā Ta'rīkh al-Madāris* (Damascus: Maktabat al-Thaqāfa al-Dīniyya, 1988), 1: 564–5; al-'Ulabī, *Khiṭaṭ Dimashq*, 208–10.

85 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *I'lām*, 94.

86 Har-El, *Struggle for Domination*, 125–7.

87 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākaha*, 1: 65; al-Buṣrawī, *Ta'rīkh*, 101.

88 Al-Buṣrawī, *Ta'rīkh*, 102, 106; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākaha*, 1: 67; Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'liq*, 464–5; Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān*, 1: 297.

from Dhū al-Ḥijja 890/December 1485 to Jumādā I 891/May 1486, and destroyed the fortification in Adana.⁸⁹ The completion of the madrasa coincided with his second return to Damascus. It can be assumed that the madrasa, which opened when Qijmās returned to Damascus in the midst of the military campaigns, had a role in demonstrating the government's and his own prestige, which was closely linked to the celebration of victory. Qijmās was, after all, buried in the tomb attached to this madrasa in Damascus,⁹⁰ not in the tomb in al-Ṣaḥrā'⁹¹ or tomb attached to the madrasa in Cairo.⁹² The madrasa and tomb continued to exist together with the name of Qijmās as a monument to the Mamluk Sultanate.

4. Personal relationships as viewed in the waqfs

4.1. Relationship with Sultan Qāyṭbāy

Qāyṭbāy is known as the sultan who founded a large number of religious and public institutions throughout Egypt, Syria, and the Hijaz and established an astonishing amount of property as waqfs for them. Qijmās's inclination to establish waqfs may have been affected by the sultan. Moreover, the close relationship between Qijmās and Qāyṭbāy can be seen in their waqfs. In his first waqf (I), established when he was a rank-and-file mamluk, Qijmās designated himself as the administrator while he was alive, and after his death, Qāyṭbāy, who was one of the amirs of a hundred at that time. After Qāyṭbāy's death, the role was to be performed by the most suitable person among Qijmās's descendants. It was common practice for the founder to nominate his/her descendants as the waqf administrator; but in this case, he gave priority to Qāyṭbāy over his own kin. Because it was a widespread practice at that time to nominate a high-ranking military official as a sole administrator or joint administrator with one's own descendants,⁹³ it can be deduced that Qijmās expected a smooth running of the waqf with the backing of Qāyṭbāy, the amir of a hundred. Still, while Qāyṭbāy was then one of the notables of al-Zāhiriyya, the consensus was that he ranked fifth after Bardbak, who served as the viceroy of Aleppo and Damascus, and Timurbughā, the future sultan.⁹⁴ This suggests that Qijmās did not nominate Qāyṭbāy as the administrator to succeed him simply because he was a powerful colleague but also because he had already established an intimate personal relationship with Qāyṭbāy. In addition, in al-Nāṣirī Muḥammad ibn Arghūn al-Qarmī's waqf which was established afterwards, Qāyṭbāy was nominated as

89 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *I'lām*, 95–6; Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'liq*, 548; Har-El, *Struggle for Domination*, 138–40.

90 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākaha*, 1: 79; Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'liq*, 718. Afterwards, his mamluk Timurāz al-Asmar al-Qijmāsi was buried in the tomb along with his master (*Mufākaha*, 1: 371).

91 Amir Qaṣrūh, who was later promoted to the *atābak al-'asākir* (commander-in-chief) of Egypt from the viceroy of Damascus, was buried at the tomb in 908/1503 (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *I'lām*: 148; *Mufākaha*, 1:231).

92 The tomb attached to the madrasa in Cairo continued to be vacant until 1268/1852 when Shaykh Abū Ḥarība, who was believed to be a sufi saint, was buried there ('Alī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfiqiyya*, 4: 48–50).

93 Igarashi, *Land Tenure*, 191–2.

94 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith*, 1930–42, 551.

the administrator after Qijmās's death and the slaves freed by Qāyṭbāy were included among the beneficiaries of the waqf (II). This implies that the relationship between the two extended to their respective families.

However, when Qijmās later changed these two waqfs to a waqf for his own tomb (Waqf IV), Qāyṭbāy's name was removed from the stipulation about the administrator. This is probably because by then Qāyṭbāy had acceded to the throne, and it was felt inappropriate for a low-ranking amir of ten such as Qijmās to nominate a sultan as the administrator of a private waqf. When Qijmās was promoted to the *amīr ākhūr kabīr* and became one of the notables of the Sultanate, he again nominated Qāyṭbāy as the administrator of his waqf after his death (Waqf XI).

The relationship between the two can also be read from Qijmās's role in Qāyṭbāy's waqfs. When Qāyṭbāy built a *zāwiya* in Siryāqūs in the suburb of Cairo and designated it as a waqf on 25 Shawwāl 874/27 April 1470, he appointed Qijmās, who was at that time an unknown amir of ten, as the administrator of the waqf.⁹⁵ When Qāyṭbāy established another waqf for a madrasa he built in Jerusalem on 17 Rabī' II 877/21 September 1472, Qijmās, who then held the rank of amir of forty and the position of Viceroy of Alexandria, was designated as administrator after Qāyṭbāy's death; he was listed third in line after the two other appointed administrators including Qāyṭbāy's private *dawādār*, Jānibak.⁹⁶ When Qāyṭbāy built a complex with a Friday mosque, tomb, and *sabīl-kuttāb* in the *Ṣaḥrā'* quarter of Cairo and established it as a waqf on 24 and 28 Jumādā II 879/5 and 9 October 1474, he nominated, as the administrator after his death, the two most powerful notables of the government, Uzbek min Ṭuṭukh, the *atābak al-'asākīr*, and Yashbak min Mahdī, the *dawādār kabīr*;⁹⁷ they were followed by Timurāz al-Shamsī al-'Azīzī, the *ra's nawbat al-nuwab* (head of the guards), who was a son of Qāyṭbāy's sister,⁹⁸ and then Qijmās, who, although holding the rank of amir of a hundred, did not have a powerful position at fourth in the line.⁹⁹ This suggests that Qāyṭbāy did not make nominations simply based on government hierarchies, but also took his personal relationships into account.

Moreover, Qāyṭbāy established three waqfs for Qijmās (Table 15, supplementary material online). He first established six pieces of agricultural land as a waqf on 22 Sha'bān 877/12 January 1474, and designated Qijmās and his descendants as the beneficiaries (waqf XV). It is clear that the waqf was established for Qijmās's benefit, and since it was established about two months after Qijmās's promotion to amir of a hundred, we may choose to see this as Qāyṭbāy's blessings for Qijmās's promotion. On 19 Shawwāl 883/15

95 Waqf deed, WA, q912.

96 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm, "Wathīqat al-Sultān Qāyṭbāy (Dirāsa wa-Tahlīt): al-Madrasa bi-l-Quds wa-l-Jāmi' bi-Ghazza", *Dirāsāt fī al-Āthār al-Islāmiyya* (Cairo: al-Munazzama al-'Arabiyya lil-Tarbiya wa-l-Thaqāfa wa-l-'Ulūm, 1979), 506–7. As for Jānibak, see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, 3: 55.

97 As for their positions in Qāyṭbāy's regime, see C.F. Petry, *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1993), 43–50.

98 As for his biography, see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, 3: 36–8.

99 L.A. Mayer, *The Buildings of Qāyṭbāy as Described in His Endowment Deed, I: Text and Index* (London: Arthur Probsthain, 1938), 84–5.

November 1478, he set up a new piece of agricultural land as a waqf and designated Qijmās and his descendants as the beneficiaries (waqf XVI). This waqf was set up at the same time that Qijmās, who was about to leave Cairo as the *amīr al-hājj* having completed his term as the viceroy of Alexandria, established his own waqf as discussed above. It is clear that this waqf too was established for the benefit of Qijmās and that it was probably a special bonus for setting off to Mecca as the *amīr al-hājj* or as a special reward for his long service as the viceroy of Alexandria. When Qijmās built Qijmāsiyya Madrasa in al-Darb al-Aḥmar of Cairo and established a waqf the following year, Qāyṭbāy also designated two pieces of land as waqf properties of the madrasa to be added to its sources of income (waqf XVII). This shows that Qāyṭbāy supported this construction, a waqf project into which Qijmās put great effort, by adding waqf properties.

There were a total of eight properties established as waqfs by Qāyṭbāy for the benefit of Qijmās (nos 52–59 in Table 1), and all of them were agricultural and former state lands (*amlāk bayt al-māl*). The waqf deeds do not clarify whether these lands were originally part of the governmental domain from which the government collected the land tax (*kharāj*) or of the *iqṭā'* lands assigned to military personnel. However, one of the eight properties, Nāhiyat Minyat 'Azzūn in al-Daqahliyya (58 in Table 1), is recorded in *Tuhfa* as Qijmās's *iqṭā'*;¹⁰⁰ also, the two pieces of land in Jīziyya (59) are described in the waqf deed as “[the two pieces of land] known by the name of Qijmās”, which suggests that it was part of his *iqṭā'*. In other words, when Qāyṭbāy established a waqf for Qijmās, he chose lands that were already in Qijmās's hands as an *iqṭā'* and, with his authority as sultan, he designated it as a waqf property. When Qijmās established a Friday mosque as the viceroy of Alexandria (waqf VIII), 2,000 copper dirhams per month from *khums* tax imposed on foreign merchants in Alexandria was allocated for the mosque (22 in Table 1). The waqf deed proves that this was authorized by Qāyṭbāy in writing. Since the total sum of the expenditure stated in the waqf deed to pay for charitable purposes, including salaries for the staff of the institution, was 1,950 copper dirhams per month, the “grant-in-aid” was enough to cover all the expenses. Thus Qāyṭbāy used the waqf system as a means of rewarding his favourite subordinate, and in so doing, he used his status as sultan to turn the state properties over to these waqfs.

4.2. The descendants and emancipated slaves

Qijmās designated his descendants as the beneficiaries in most of the waqfs he established. It is also stipulated in each waqf, regardless of the order of appointment, that the most qualified descendant be appointed as the waqf administrator. This was a widely practised waqf stipulation of the time but, as mentioned above, his children did not survive to be administrators or beneficiaries. In this regard, the stipulations about the descendants with regard to waqfs did not have any real implication and they were included for the possibility of a child being born and raised in the future. What is more telling was the stipulation on the emancipated slaves. Designating slaves freed by the founder as just below or equal to his/her descendants as beneficiaries or administrators carried a

100 Ibn al-Jī'ān, *Tuhfa*, 61.

special meaning in the Mamluk era. That is, because the amirs in the Mamluk Sultanate were obliged to raise and feed a certain number of mamluks according to their rank, many mamluks who were freed by the amirs were designated as the beneficiary or administrator in the waqfs established by the amirs. In the stipulation of the waqf Qijmās established when he was a rank-and-file mamluk, “his two mamluks, Barsbāy and Dawlatbāy” are mentioned as the beneficiary and administrator, suggesting that Qijmās only had these two mamluks at the time. Qijmās was promoted to the amir of ten, of forty and of a hundred afterwards, which must mean that the number of mamluks under his control increased. Consequently, the stipulations about the emancipated slaves in the waqf deed came to take the form of “his emancipated slaves (*‘utaqā’uhu*)”. What is interesting is that waqf XI names “Shādbak Khāzindār, his emancipated slave (*‘aṭīquhu*)” as the administrator if there is no suitable candidate among Qijmās’s descendants after his death. When Qijmās was later appointed the viceroy of Damascus, Shādbak Khāzindār went to Damascus as the *mutasallim* (deputy) before Qijmās, carried out the handover, and was responsible for administration until Qijmās’s arrival.¹⁰¹ He also served Qijmās as his private *dawādār* until he was killed in action in Jumādā I 889/May–June 1484.¹⁰² A private *dawādār* is the most important position among the private staff of a notable. Qijmās added the name of Shādbak Khāzindār, the mamluk he trusted most, as a candidate for administratorship when he established the waqf.

As already noted, Qijmās died without surviving children. Consequently, his mamluks must have received sufficient benefit from their master’s waqfs. Qijmās’s mamluks were actively involved with affairs of Damascus even after his death and it can be speculated that this was possible because they had a stable source of income as beneficiaries of their master’s waqfs. There is no firm evidence of this but it can be hypothesized to explain their active involvement in Damascene society.

Conclusion

Since the time when he was a rank-and-file mamluk, Qijmās consistently used the waqf system as a means of securing private assets. As he moved up through the ranks, he began to use more elaborate means of acquiring assets – such as *istibdāl* and the privatization of state lands – whose legality was somewhat doubtful, making the most of his influence as a notable. At the same time, Qijmās’s waqf projects became ever larger in scale. He also carried out public projects and charitable activities through the waqf system, which were of an appropriate size and containing suitable beneficiaries to his respective positions as a rank-and-file mamluk, high-ranking military officer in Cairo, or viceroy of regional cities. After assuming the position of viceroy and becoming a powerful figure in the government, he built large-scale religious institutions as a way of demonstrating his own prestige and the “legitimacy of rule” of the Sultanate.

101 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākaha*, 1: 34; Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta’līq*, 47.

102 Al-Buṣrawī, *Ta’rīkh*, 94.

Some waqfs were set up seemingly in response to heightened charitable awareness, due to social unrest, or for personal reasons. We can find almost all of the motivations for establishing a waqf, as discussed in the introduction, in the range of his waqfs.

It is also notable that despite the idea of “permanency” associated with the waqf, he responded to changes in the environment in a flexible manner by modifying stipulations of an already established waqf or by dissolving a waqf in order to re-establish it as a new one. In addition, the relationships surrounding the founder, such as the vassal relationship, relationships with the powerful, and those with his own mamluks, were reflected in the waqfs; and, further, these relationships were maintained and strengthened by the waqfs.

This article has shown how an individual “utilized” the waqf system selectively and strategically according to his stage in life, and to his personal and social circumstances. Above all, this case study proves that the waqf as a system had multidimensional and complex functions. In addition to the universal purpose of building up good deeds for the afterlife, the waqf system served to fulfil the founder’s particularistic secular intentions and expectations. Still, we should bear in mind that the waqf exhibited characteristics particular to the time period, region, and social stratum to which the founder belonged and that it was practised within this context: Qijmās’s waqf projects were defined by his status as a mamluk military person and by the instabilities in the socio-economic climate of his time. Furthermore, the ways in which he acquired assets and the forms of waqf he established strongly reflected familiar characteristics of the late-Mamluk Syro-Egypt: the abuse of *istibdāl*, the frequent use of the “self-benefitting waqf”, and the adoption of the “tomb waqf”.

However, the fact that Qijmās “utilized” the waqf system does not necessarily mean that he ignored or made light of the meaning of waqf as a good deed.¹⁰³ While the “self-benefitting waqf” and “family waqf” may appear to be self-centred in our contemporary eyes, under Islamic law, they were considered good deeds just like waqfs for religious and charitable activities; and as Qijmās’s obituary states, his waqf projects stood as the proof of his “piety” and “good will towards knowledge and the ulama”.

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Supplementary material

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103 Cf. Y. Lev, *Charity, Endowments, and Charitable Institutions in Medieval Islam* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 1, 54, 159–60.

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